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Great Expansion of Secret CIA Emphasized by Its New Building

Intelligence Headquarters Nearly Half Size of Pentagon—To Be Too Small When Ready in '61.

By MARQUIS W. CHILDS
A Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER is presiding Tuesday at the laying of the cornerstone of the Central Intelligence Agency's new building. The structure is to be nearly half the size of the Pentagon but, when it is completed in August of 1961, it will be inadequate to house the staff of the agency.

This is a measure of the way in which the CIA has grown in the 12 years of its existence. Under the CIA act, not only its operations but its budget, the size of the staff and all other details are secret.

Despite the secrecy, there is one public clue to the number of employes—two parking lots on the headquarters site will provide for 3000 cars.

There are signs, and the public ceremony marking the laying of the cornerstone is one, that the far-flung intelligence agency would like to have the public know more about its public functions. There can be no question, of course, about publicizing its undercover activities, which include a wide range of work such as encouraging the defection of Communist agents who will reveal either in public or in private the working of the Communist espionage system.

In a free society in which there is an inherent distrust of secret government, the CIA has stirred surprisingly little suspicion despite its remarkable expansion. Yet a dilemma does exist and it is likely to become acute if the visible signs of the cold war diminish in an era of negotiation with the prospect of competitive co-existence.

IN THEORY, the CIA does not make policy. Under the law, it is required to provide intelligence estimates—the raw material of policy—to the National Security Council and the President. Yet with the great body of knowledge that it collects on Communist activities in every part of the world, the temptation is inevitably strong to try to steer the nation on a course of resistance and counterattack.

Recently the deputy director, Air Force Gen. C. P. Cabell, made two speeches that seemed to suspicious observers to skirt the policy line. Speaking to the National Security Commission of the American Legion three weeks after President Eisenhower had invited Premier Khrushchev to visit this country, Cabell warned against "smiling faces from the Kremlin." He said that a free ride on the Communist merry-go-round always "turns out to be costly."

In an address to the National Guard Association early in October, Cabell talked on the smoldering "Communist fire" in Laos and said, "It must be met with strong determination." The loss of even five or six soldiers in northern Laos in what the Communists claim is a "civil war" is important, Cabell told the Guard Association. He compared the Laotian battles to the "shot heard round the world" at Lexington in the American Revolution.

"To the free people of the West, the bold evidence of Communist aggression is not very palatable," he said. "Calling this 'peaceful co-existence' does not make very much sense to me."

Director Allen W. Dulles is frank in saying that he would like to see some of the able economic and political analysts in CIA write and speak publicly on their specialties. His staff includes distinguished men in every field of intelligence analysis and research.

FOR ONE THING, Dulles may be encouraging his associates to step out in public because the burden on him is so great. He must appear before congressional committees, and the pressure on him to fill speaking engagements is unending. For the first time in the nearly seven years that he has been director, Dulles, on Nov. 13, will appear publicly before a congressional committee to present an analysis of the Soviet economy.

This is, in itself, a radical departure, since his predecessors all declined to testify in public. Dulles is one of the most dedicated and hard-working public servants in Washington, resembling his brother, the late John Foster Dulles in his tireless expenditure of energy.

He is undoubtedly one reason that Congress has been content to vote huge budgets—estimated at close to a billion dollars a year—without supervision. Senator Mike Mansfield proposed a special committee to review the CIA but he was flatly turned down by the congressional leadership. Mansfield says today he still believes such a committee is necessary to protect the CIA from public doubt and suspicion.

THE LINE between secrecy and publicity is, as Dulles fully realizes, a difficult one. He believes the newspapers overstress the "hush-hush" nature of the CIA, and one of his objectives is to correct this.

At the same time he is aware of the problems of operating half in secret and half in public. For example, one of his able top men in Washington might take the kind of open position in speaking and writing that Dulles suggests they increasingly do. But if later it were decided he should go abroad to engage in undercover operations, his public reputation would be a handicap.

It would seem likely that the public both over-estimates and under-estimates the work of the CIA. One belief is that the agency, with its representatives in every corner of the world, should be all-knowing. When some major event takes policy-makers by surprise, the ordinary citizen wants to know why.

Perhaps the most striking example of this in recent times was the revolution in Iraq, which swept away the pro-Western regime of the veteran Prime Minister Nuri Said in the summer of 1958. This came like a bolt of lightning.

Why had Washington not been warned that this might happen so that precautionary steps could be taken? How was it that, with so large an expenditure for agents around the world, the CIA did not have advance knowledge of what must have been deep-seated opposition to the seemingly solid regime?

The answer Dulles gave privately was that, under certain circumstances, even the best and most far-reaching intelligence system must fail to anticipate events. After all, not even Nuri's own agents, who supposedly permeated Baghdad, had advance warning.

By virtue of 20-20 hindsight, there were those who said that the signs should have been visible to anyone. But an intelligence agency such as the CIA cannot operate on the basis of hindsight and, if there were differences of opinion within the organization over Iraq, the public was not permitted to know of it.

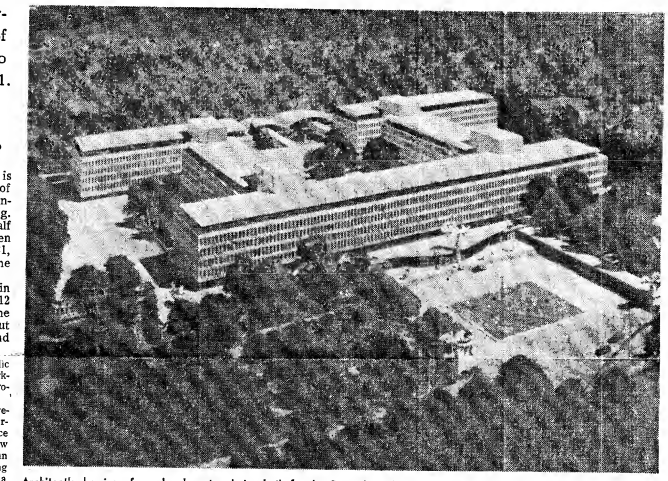
IN THE DIRECTION of greater public knowledge, Dulles believes that CIA employes should be allowed to say that they work for the agency. It has been a standing joke around Washington that CIA staff members may not tell what agency they work for. Since their friends usually know anyway, this is a bit of cloak and dagger nonsense.

Similarly, CIA agents abroad usually operate from American embassies with the "cover" of a position as first or second secretary of the embassy. Their function, in most instances, is to cooperate with the heads of the intelligence service of the country in which they are stationed, exchanging information and working in collaboration against the Communist espionage network.

While the change that seems to be taking place may not represent a real shift in the policy and the approach of the CIA, the new building will change the Washington landscape. The thousands of CIA employes now are spread all over the city, mostly in the temporary buildings put up along the Mall between the Lincoln Memorial and the Capitol in the last war.

Presumably when CIA moves into its new building across the river in Virginia, these buildings will be torn down.

Whether the CIA continues to grow at the same pace as during the past decade, no one can say. But with a 140-acre site on the Virginia side of the Potomac, this phenomenal agency, undreamed of in the simpler America of before World War II, will have plenty of room for expansion.



Architect's drawing of new headquarters being built for the Central Intelligence Agency on a 140-acre tract at Langley, Va., near Washington. Completion is scheduled for July 1961.

ALLEN W. DULLES

Issues in Supreme Court's Hearing on Steel Strike

Decision Is Possible Without Ruling on Constitutionality of Taft-Hartley Act Injunction Provision — Public Has Big Stake in Outcome of Case.

By EDWARD F. WOODS
A Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31.

WARRING ATTORNEYS for the Government and the United Steelworkers go before the Supreme Court next Tuesday for a legal fight in which the stakes of the labor movement, industry, the Government and the public will be high.

Last night, the court granted a petition by the union for an opportunity to argue to a final decision grave questions relating to the successful efforts of the Government to obtain an injunction against continuance of the steel strike.

The back-to-work order at issue would return the 540,000 strikers to plants from which they walked out July 15 and would terminate the long and costly strike for a period of 80 days while Government mediators seek a formula for breaking the deadlock between the industry and the union.

IN GRANTING the petition for review, the Supreme Court apparently decided that the union had raised questions which merit the Court's examination of the constitutionality of the emergency procedures of the Taft-Hartley law and the wisdom of the lower courts in dealing with the nation-wide stoppage.

This is the first time in the 12-year history of the Taft-Hartley law that the Court will hear opposing contentions on these questions.

Congress will be watching with more than casual interest, because if the Taft-Hartley emergency provisions are held invalid, other legislation to handle stoppages that cripple entire industries is certain to be near the top of the congressional calendar next session.

The Supreme Court was called on by the Steelworkers in 1953 to judge the issues in a controversy with the Government over the power given federal judges in the Taft-Hartley law to order strikers back to work against their will, if continuance of the stoppage is found to imperil national health and safety.

ON THAT OCCASION, the Supreme Court refused to take jurisdiction because the union had by-passed the Court of Appeals. By the time the Court of Appeals had acted, the question was moot because the injunction which the union challenged was only a few hours short of expiration.

The procedural circumstances in this case are different. The union has carried its case to the Court of Appeals, and lost. The 80-day injunction, while sustained by the appellate court, is not yet effective and will not be until the Supreme Court makes its decision. Hence, a final determination of the case appears inevitable barring an unexpected settlement of the strike before Tuesday.

The Government, through Solicitor General J. Lee Rankin, contended in a brief filed yesterday, that its case for an injunction to stop the walkout as a "peril" to national health and safety had been established in two lower courts and that there was no need for review.

Even though the Court has done the unexpected and accorded the union an opportunity to present its case before the nine Justices, there is no assurance that the final decision, will go to the heart of the constitutional issue raised by the union.

In practice, the Court appears to seek to base its findings on procedural oversights, faulty administrative practices or judicial error in the lower courts, when writing its opinions in cases where constitutional questions loom importantly in arguments for reversals of lower court decisions.

WHILE A DECISION favorable to its cause would be welcomed by the union under any circumstances, it seeks the Court's guidance on the scope of district court powers and discretions under the act, the nature of proof required to support a finding that national health and safety is imperiled by a strike, the kinds of dispute the act properly covers and the constitutional validity of the entire injunctive approach to settlement of big labor disputes.

These important questions of federal law have not been, but should be, decided by the Court, the union contends, pointing out that there has been no authoritative interpretation of Taft-Hartley Act to guide lower courts.

Attempting to guess correctly what the Supreme Court will do in any given situation ranks as the height of folly.

But in terms of a legal box score, the Government now leads in the game of legal maneuvering, which has moved from the district court at Pittsburgh to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals at Philadelphia and now is being played out in the Supreme Court.

The Government won its fight for a district court injunction Oct. 21, and successfully resisted the efforts of the union to upset the back-to-work order in the appellate court last Tuesday. Government attorneys are confident they will defeat the union in Washington.

Weighing in favor of this judgment is the quality of the appellate bench at Philadelphia, which affirmed the decision of District Judge Herbert P. Sorg that President Eisenhower was right when he certified the steel strike, now in its 100th day, as a menace to national health and safety, which should be stopped by law.

The seven-member court, of which Judge John Biggs Jr., a product of the New Deal era, is the chief judge, is known to be regarded by members of the Supreme Court as one of learning, quality and integrity, whose decisions come only after searching inventory of all the circumstances of a case with total disregard for any factors except the law itself, congressional intent in its passage and its proper application in the district courts.

THE SUPREME COURT seldom accepts for review a case from the Third Circuit, and reversals of its decisions are even rarer.

The union, whose chief counsel is Arthur J. Goldberg, a brilliant and resourceful practitioner in labor law, finds considerable encouragement in the 2-to-1 split in the appellate court panel which rejected the union's plea at Philadelphia to negate the injunction and the 3-to-3 division in the full bench on granting the union rehearing on the panel's decision. One judge abstained in this poll. A majority of those voting was required to institute rehearing. Hence, the union lost.

The dissenter in the panel, who would have vacated the injunction, was Judge William C. Hastie, an appointee of President Truman. But even he did not go against the judgment of his majority

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